631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Iḥaggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Iḥaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
●D78 repute. All the Tuareg, Iḥaggaren or Ăjjer, who pass near this
988 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Iḥaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ăjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ăjjer than of the Iḥaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amênokal," just as Iklân-en-Tăousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg. They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth, beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines, that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos. The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

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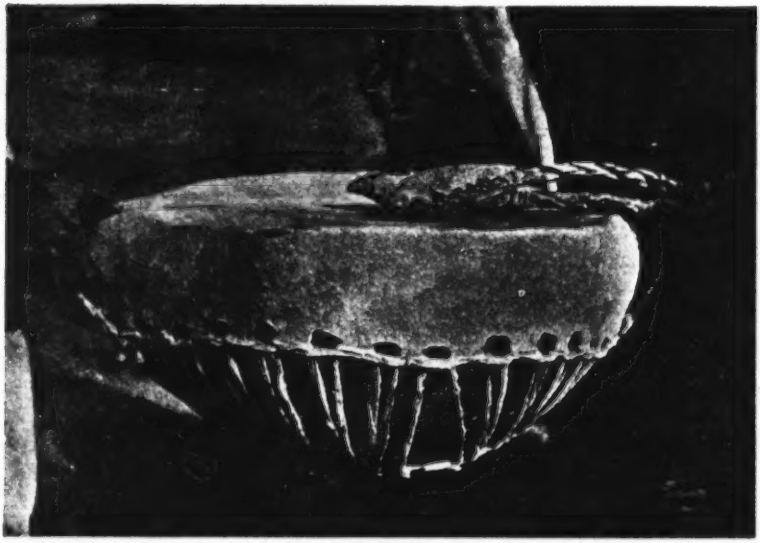

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air

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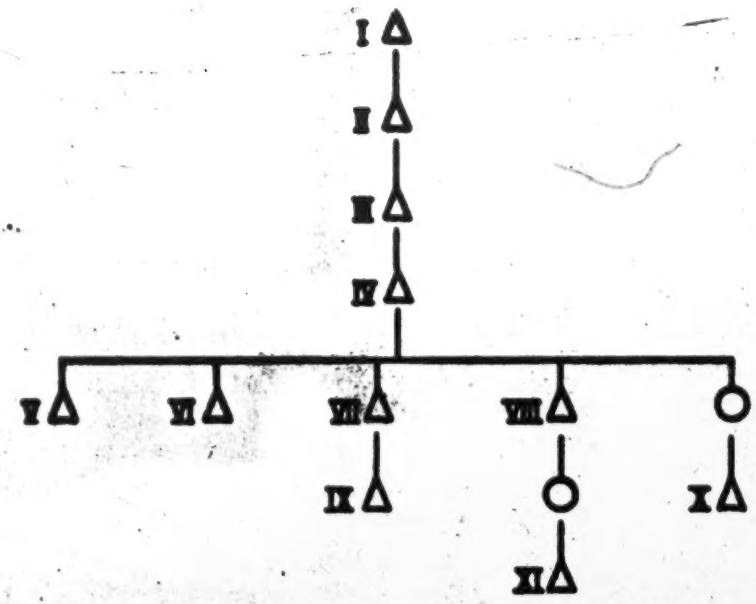

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. 778 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouclen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals. 634 [614]

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their [177] 173 634

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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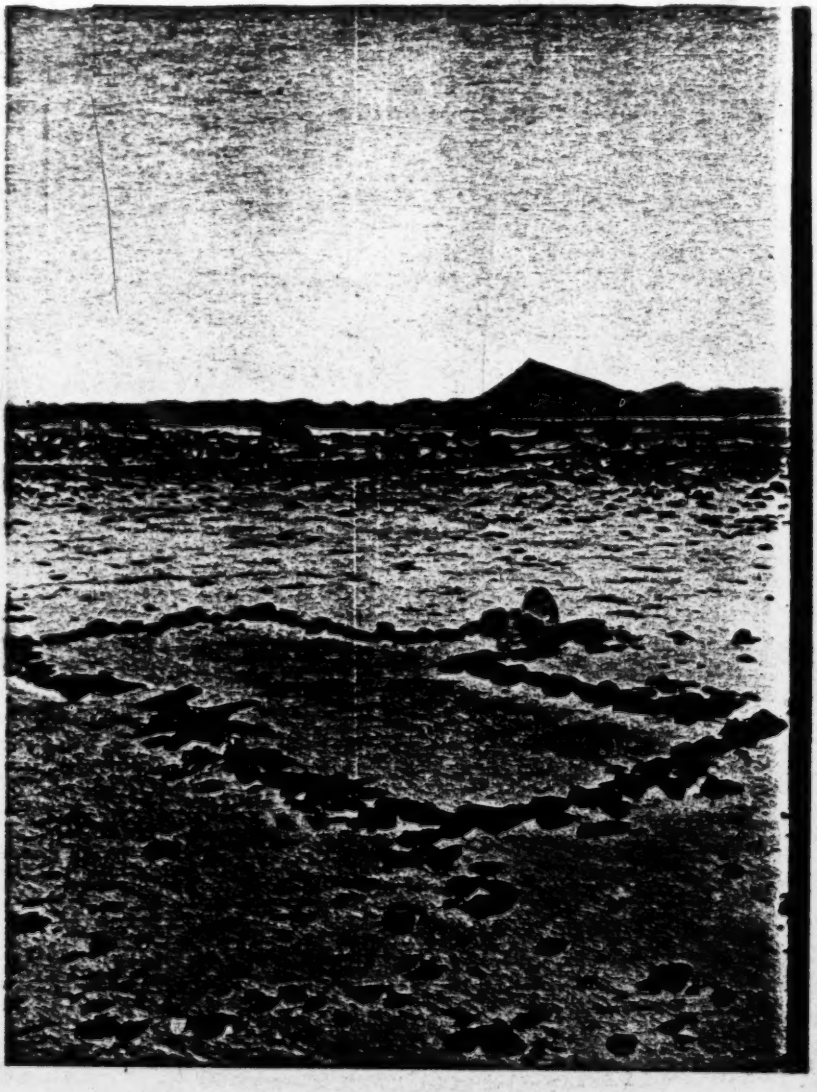


48. A Tuareg mosque.

[p. 236]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind. Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power, or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The benediction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, therefore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.

In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic, namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk

than there mentioned

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241 412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. [171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as [778] [841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, 241 412 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

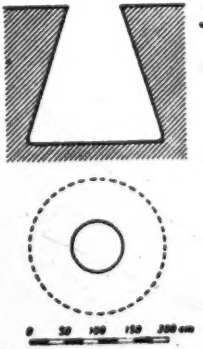
243 412 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are 245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr 243 is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).

Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*éjend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).



[Text continues on p. 209]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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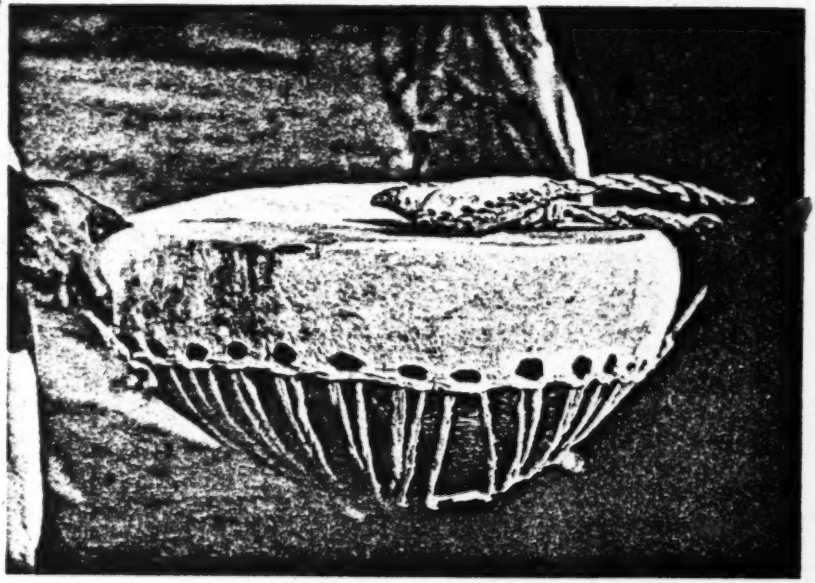

Fig. 285. The drum (*ensebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed so-called drum-groups or *ettebelen* (sing. *ettebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum known as *ettebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ* and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

173 643 [634] Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

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643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 778 [766] [765] A certain *elharaka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elharaka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

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631 634 648 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Kel Ewey	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
Kel Faday	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Kel Dennek of the *Iwllemmeden*	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergu & Katsena	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum known as *ettebel* (or *arezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amrar* or *arolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeyen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is